

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 INR-10 L-03 ACDA-12
NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 SP-02 TRSE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00
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FM USMISSION USNATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0828
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
INFO FPA WASHDC
ALL NATO CAPITALS
USLOSACLANT NORFOLK VA
CINCLANT NORFOLK VA
USNMR SHAPE BE
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 USNATO 03929

COPENHAGEN TAKE FOR ACTION AND PLEASE PASS TO AMB KOMER
AND DASD SIENA WITH SECDEF PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MPOL, NATO
SUBJECT: NATO DEFENSE INITIATIVES: SEQUENTIAL PHASING OF
US POSITIONS ON CURRENT US-ALLIED DIFFERENCES ON THE LONG
TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM

REFS: (A) STATE 92412 DTG 111655Z APR 78, (B) USNATO 3817
DTG 141207Z APR 78, (C) USNATO 3884 DTG 151244Z APR 78,
(D) USNATO 3886 DTG 151258Z APR 78, (E) USNATO 3784 DTG
131852Z APR 78, (F) USNATO 3852 DTG 141845Z APR 78,
(G) USNATO 3850 DTG 141800Z APR 78, (H) USNATO 3844 DTG
141708Z APR 78, (I) USNATO 3854 DTG 141916Z APR 78,
(J) USNATO 3855 DTG 141924Z APR 78, (K) USNATO 3853 DTG
141905Z APR 78, (L) USNATO 3851 DTG 141826Z APR 78,
(M) USNATO 3880 DTG 151153Z APR 78, (N) USNATO 3885 DTG
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151250Z APR 78, (O) USNATO 3887 DTG 151315Z APR 78

SUMMARY: US POSITIONS FOR THE APRIL 21 EWG MEETING ON
THE LTDP WILL BE THE PRIME FACTOR IN DETERMINING HOW MANY
AND WHICH US-ALLIED DIFFERENCES ARE CARRIED FORWARD TO
HIGHER LEVELS. WE THEREFORE BELIEVE THE TIME IS AT HAND
FOR WASHINGTON TO DECIDE HOW IT WANTS TO BEGIN PHASING

ITS SUCCESSIVE LTDP POSITIONS FOR CONSIDERATION BY PERMREPS AND DEFENSE MINISTERS ENROUTE TO THE SUMMIT. TOWARD THAT END WE CATEGORIZE EXISTING US-ALLIED DIFFERENCES AND OFFER SOME BROAD COMMENTS ON THE OUTCOME OF THE APRIL 13-14 EWG.
END SUMMARY.

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1. AT THE APRIL 13-14 EXECUTIVE WORKING GROUP (EWG) MEETING THAT ADDRESSED THE LONG-TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM (LTDP) DRAFT COMPREHENSIVE REPORT FOR MINISTERS OF DEFENSE AND THE ACCOMPANYING DRAFT REPORT TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENT, THE US INTRODUCED MANY AMENDMENTS DESIGNED TO STRENGTHEN WHAT IT CONSIDERED TO BE IN GENERAL A GRATIFYINGLY CHALLENGING DOCUMENT. THE EFFORT WAS WARRANTED, AND THE RESULT REASONABLY SATISFACTORY. SOME AMENDMENTS PREVAILED IN WHOLE OR IN LARGE PART; OTHERS DID NOT BUT WILL APPEAR IN BRACKETS AS US-PREFERRED LANGUAGE IN THE REVISED DRAFT THE EWG WILL ADDRESS ON APRIL 21.

2. THE PRODUCT THAT ISSUES FROM THE APRIL 21 EWG MEETING WILL GO TO DPC PERMREPS ON MAY 8 WHENCE, AFTER POSSIBLE FURTHER REFINEMENT, IT WILL GO TO DPC MINISTERS ON MAY 18-19 AND THENCE TO THE SUMMIT ON MAY 30-31. WE THEREFORE BELIEVE THE TIME IS AT HAND FOR WASHINGTON TO DECIDE ON SEQUENTIAL PHASED ACTION DERIVING FROM THE RELATIVE CONFIDENTIAL

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PRIORITIES IT ATTACHES TO THE STILL-BRACKETED US AMENDMENTS; OTHERWISE, THE AMBASSADOR AND THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE COULD IN TURN FIND THEMSELVES INDISCRIMINATELY DEFENDING THE WHOLE LOT, WITH NOTHING LYING AHEAD BUT THE SUMMIT ITSELF.

3. A FIRST CATEGORY OF SIGNIFICANT CURRENT SPLITS BETWEEN THE US AND ITS ALLIES INVOLVES THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN UNRESERVED GOVERNMENTAL AGREEMENT TO DO SOMETHING AND AGREEMENT TEMPERED BY SUCH EXPRESSIONS AS: (A) "AGREE IN PRINCIPLE" WHEN THE OBJECTIVE, AS THE ALLIES SEE IT, IS NOT YET SUFFICIENTLY DEFINED OR IS ONE TO WHICH THEY SAY (I) A PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT CANNOT UNRESERVEDLY COMMIT WITHOUT FURTHER DUE PROCESS AND (II) THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH IN A GOVERNMENT OF SEPARATED POWERS CANNOT CREDIBLY COMMIT UNRESERVEDLY AT ALL; AND (B) "AGREE TO AIM FOR" WHEN THE OBJECTIVE HAS A PARTICULARLY QUANTITATIVE DIMENSION. ALTHOUGH SUCH EXPRESSIONS TEND TO AROUSE US SUSPICION OF ALLIED INERTIA, IT IS WORTH RECALLING THAT THE "AGREE TO AIM FOR" FORMULATION WAS THE ONE EMBODIED IN LAST YEAR'S MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE PROVISION FOR 3 PERCENT ANNUAL REAL INCREASES

IN DEFENSE EXPENDITURES -- A PROVISION THAT HAS SINCE
PAID OFF HANDSOMELY IN EUROPE AND AT HOME.

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4. A SECOND CATEGORY OF SIGNIFICANT CURRENT SPLITS
CENTERS ON A FEW PROPOSALS WHICH, THOUGH THEY DID APPEAR
IN THE COMPREHENSIVE REPORT, COULD BE SHOWN BY THE
RECORD TO HAVE BEEN OPPOSED BY A SUBSTANTIAL MAJORITY
OF ALLIES (AND NOT ONLY SMALLER ONES) AT THE MARCH 21-23
REINFORCED EWG. THE ALLIES, ESPECIALLY THE UK AND FRG,
HAVE PROVED ON THE WHOLE REMARKABLY RECEPTIVE TO A
COMPREHENSIVE REPORT THAT PROCEEDED FROM A VERY BROAD
CONSTRUCTION OF WHAT HAD CONSTITUTED REASONABLE CONSENSUS

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0829

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO FPA WASHDC

ALL NATO CAPITALS

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CINCLANT NORFOLK VA

USNMR SHAPE BE

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

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COPENHAGEN TAKE FOR ACTION AND PLEASE PASSTOAMB KOMER
AND DASD SIENA WITH SECDEF PARTY

AT THAT EARLIER MEETING, BUT IN A FEW CASES THEY HAVE
DEMURRED. IN A FEW ADDITIONAL CASES, THE ALLIES AT
THE APRIL 13-14 EWG OPPOSED US PROPOSALS ON SUBJECTS
THAT NEITHER AROSE AT THE MARCH 21-23 REINFORCED EWG
NOR APPEARED IN THE TASK FORCE REPORTS.

5. A THIRD CATEGORY OF SIGNIFICANT CURRENT SPLITS
FOCUSES ON THE HANDLING OF BOTH ORGANIZATIONAL/FOLLOW-
THROUGH ARRANGEMENTS AND LOW COST/NO COST MEASURES.

THE ALLIES CONSIDER IT ILLOGICAL TO AGREE ON HOW TO ORGANIZE FOR HANDLING PROGRAMS BEFORE IT IS CLEAR WHAT THOSE PROGRAMS ARE GOING TO BE, AND THEY BELIEVE THAT TIME PRESSURES IN CAPITALS BETWEEN NOW AND THE SUMMIT DICTATE CONCENTRATING ON MAJOR PROGRAMS WITHOUT THE DELAYING DISTRACTIONS OF BOTH ORGANIZATIONAL/FOLLOW-CONFIDENTIAL

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THROUGH ARRANGEMENTS AND LOW COST/NO COST MEASURES -- ALL THIS AS AGAINST THE US DESIRE TO CAPITALIZE ON PRE-SUMMIT OPPORTUNITIES TO SECURE HIGH-LEVEL APPROVAL OF BOTH. IN ADDITION, SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS HAS ENGAGED HIS PERSONAL POSITION IN ASSERTING THAT ORGANIZATIONAL ARRANGEMENTS ARE HIS OWN RESPONSIBILITY FOR PULLING TOGETHER AFTER THE SUMMIT.

6. AS MENTIONED IN PARA 2 ABOVE, IT IS OUR JUDGMENT THAT THE TIME IS AT HAND FOR WASHINGTON TO DETERMINE WHAT IT WANTS TO HOLD FAST TO AT THE REMAINING SUCCESSIVE PHASES OF ALLIED LTDP CONSIDERATION, REMEMBERING THAT THE POSITIONS WE ARE INSTRUCTED TO STICK WITH AT THE APRIL 21 EWG WILL BE THOSE WITH WHICH PERMREPS WILL HAVE TO DEAL ON MAY 8, AND THAT THOSE THE AMBASSADOR IS INSTRUCTED TO STICK WITH ON MAY 8 WILL BE THOSE WITH WHICH THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE WILL HAVE TO DEAL AT THE DPC MINISTERIAL ON MAY 18-19. WE ARE PREPARING A SEPTTEL WITH SOME SUGGESTIONS OF DETAIL FOR WASHINGTON CONSIDERATION, BUT MEANWHILE WOULD ADVANCE THE FOLLOWING BROAD OBSERVATIONS:

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- A. WITH PERHAPS A FEW EXCEPTIONS, THE APRIL 13-14 OUTCOMES ON REINFORCEMENT, RESERVE MOBILIZATION, AND MARITIME MEASURES WERE GOOD AND SHOULD CONTINUE SO, ESPECIALLY IF THE US CAN AGREE ON THE NEXT ROUND TO ACCEPT SOMEWHAT TEMPERED FORMULATIONS FOR CERTAIN ALLIED COMMITMENTS.

- B. THE APRIL 13-14 OUTCOME ON ELECTRONIC WARFARE WAS A GOOD ONE, ESPECIALLY IF ON THE NEXT ROUND THE US CAN DEMONSTRATE A LITTLE FLEXIBILITY ON DISCLOSURE POLICY AND R&D INFORMATION. THE OUTCOME ON CONSUMER
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LOGISTICS FELL SOMEWHAT SHORT OF THE US GOAL, BUT IN THAT AREA -- AS IN ELECTRONIC WARFARE -- ANYTHING THE LTDP ACCOMPLISHES WILL REPRESENT ACHIEVEMENT THAT

MIGHT NOT HAVE OCCURRED WITHOUT THE LTDP OR THAT WOULD HAVE TAKEN MUCH LONGER TO ACCOMPLISH WITHOUT IT.

- C. THE APRIL 13-14 OUTCOMES ON AIR DEFENSE AND C3 WERE GENERALLY FAVORABLE. BEGINNING WITH THE EXCELLENT PRODUCTS OF THE SHAPE TASK FORCES BUILDING ON PROGRESS ALREADY IN TRAIN, THE CHALLENGES IN THOSE TWO AREAS ALSO OWE MUCH TO THE SPUR OF THE LTDP. HOWEVER, WE DO BELIEVE THAT THE ALLIES WILL NOT MOVE SUBSTANTIALLY FROM THEIR CONVICTION THAT THEY CANNOT GO BEYOND "IN PRINCIPLE" OR "AGREE TO AIM FOR" FORMULATIONS IN SOME INSTANCES.

- D. THE APRIL 13-14 OUTCOME ON READINESS WAS A COMPLEX ONE. OUR INITIAL REACTION IS THAT AT THE APRIL 21 EWG WE SHOULD STAND FAST ON PROPOSALS OF CLEARLY HIGH PRIORITY, TRYING TO WIN ALLIED SUPPORT BY IN EFFECT "TRADING OFF" THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF THOSE FOR OUR AGREE-MENT TO FALL OFF SOME LOWER-PRIORITY US BRACKETED POSITIONS; THIS OF COURSE WOULD MEAN THAT A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF READINESS ISSUES WOULD CARRY OVER TO THE MAY 8 PERMREPS MEETING AND PROBABLY TO THE DPC MINISTERIAL AS WELL.

- E. THE APRIL 13-14 OUTCOME ON RATIONALIZATION WAS BOTH COMPLEX AND CONFUSED. RATIONALIZATION HAS BEEN IN TROUBLE EVER SINCE THE LTDP BEGAN GETTING OFF THE GROUND IN OTHER TASK FORCE AREAS LAST SUMMER. AT THE MARCH 21-23 REINFORCED EWG, THE US VOLUNTEERED TO PROVIDE SOME BEEFED-UP RECOMMENDATIONS AND PROVIDED THEM IN A LETTER TO DSYG PETRIGNANI ON 3 APRIL. THE DRAFT COMPREHENSIVE REPORT TOOK SOME ACCOUNT OF OUR

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SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 OIC-02 /063 W
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0830

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ALL NATO CAPITALS
USLOSACLANT NORFOLK VA
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INPUT BUT REPLICATED SOME OF THE TASK FORCE'S GENERALLY
WEAK AND AMBIGUOUS RECOMMENDATIONS. NEVERTHELESS, THE
US RE-WRITE DOES ENJOY A CERTAIN STATUS AND DID ATTRACT
MODERATE SUPPORT ON APRIL 13-14 -- EXCEPT FOR THE
INCLUSION OF A LISTING OF SPECIFIC SYSTEMS FOR COOPERATIVE
DEVELOPMENT, WHICH ALLIES SAW AS EXCEEDING ANYTHING IN THE
TASK FORCE'S TERMS OF REFERENCE OR ANYTHING AGREED EVEN
IN PRINCIPLE AT THE MARCH 21-23 REINFORCED EWG. OUR
INITIAL REACTION IS THAT AT THE APRIL 21 EWG WE SHOULD
STAND FAST ON CONTINUING TO PROMOTE AS MUCH OF THE US
RE-WRITE AS FALLS WITHIN WHAT WAS THE AGREED MANDATE
OF THE TASK FORCE, BUT THAT WE SHOULD FALL OFF TRYING
TO SECURE EXPLICIT ACCEPTANCE OF THE LISTING OF SPECIFIC
SYSTEMS FOR COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT, PERHAPS WITHDRAWING
TO SOME FALLBACK SUCH AS REMANDING THE LISTING FOR EXPRESS
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ACTION AND PROGRESS REPORTS BY THE CNAD.

7. AMBASSADOR BENNETT HAS SEEN AND APPROVED THIS
MESSAGE IN DRAFT.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
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Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MILITARY PLANS, DEFENSIVE WEAPONS SYSTEMS, COMMITTEE MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
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Draft Date: 17 apr 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
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Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
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